

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00 SAJ-01 SP-01

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 DODE-00 PM-03 PRS-01

SAM-01 TRSE-00 L-02 OMB-01 COME-00 DRC-01 (ISO) W

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R 151807Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9156

INFO USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 11798

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, US, EEC, NATO

SUBJECT: QUAI VIEW OF US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS

REF: A) STATE 96829; B) PARIS 11128; C) PARIS 11631

1. SUMMARY: IN TOUR D'HORIZON WITH POLCOUNS MAY 13, QUAI DEPUTY POLITICAL DIRECTOR ARNAUD GAVE HIS IMPRESSIONS OF GYMnich MEETING AND STATED OFFICIAL QUAI PREFERENCE FOR OPTION OF DROPPING BOTH EC AND NATO DECLARATIONS AND RETURNING TO "MORE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE" OF FLEXIBLE, PRAGMATIC CONSULTATIONS BASED ON POLITICAL WILL AND NEED.

ACTION REQUESTED: IF CONSIDERED USEFUL BY

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DEPARTMENT, ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE FOR MAY 22 MEETING

WITH QUAI EUROPEAN DIRECTOR DE MARGERIE. END
SUMMARY.

2. IN MORE RELAXED AND RECEPTIVE MOOD THAN WE HAVE SEEN HIM IN MANY MONTHS, ARNAUD SAID "DIPLOMATIC PAUSE" OF PAST WEEKS HAD GIVEN HIM OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT ON US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS OF THE PAST YEAR. THE "YEAR OF EUROPE" EXERCISE HAD RESULTED IN HARD WORK, AND ENORMOUS TIME AND ENERGY SPENT ON THE TWO DECLARATIONS. NEITHER HAD BEEN CONCLUDED, AND IN THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATING THEIR CONTENT, TEMPERS HAD FLARED AND PRESSURES DEVELOPED WHICH HAD NOT BENEFITTED US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS.

3. AT GYMnich MEETING, WHICH ARNAUD ATTENDED, HE HAD SENSED THE BEGINNING OF A CALMER ATMOSPHERE, A MORE MEASURED AND REFLECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE STATE OF PLAY. IN HIS VIEW, THE MAIN ADVANTAGE OF THE CURRENT DIPLOMATIC PAUSE IS THAT THE OVERHEATED DIPLOMATIC ENGINE HAD COOLED DOWN, PEOPLE WERE THINKING MORE RATIONALLY, THE SENSE OF CONFRONTATION HAD BEEN DISSIPATED. IT IS IMPORTANT TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS MOOD, TO BUILD BACK TO MORE NORMAL DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGES BEFITTING ALLIES, BASED ON THE WILL TO CONSULT WHENEVER IT IS WANTED AND NEEDED -- NOT ON THE BASIS OF RIGID FORMULAE IMPOSING THE LEGALISTIC REQUIREMENT TO CONSULT.

4. AFTER POLCOUNS REVIEWED GUIDANCE ON US-NINE CONSULTATIONS CONTAINED IN REFTel A, ARNAUD OBSERVED THAT THIS SEEMED TO REFLECT A MORE POSITIVE, FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE USG. HE CONSIDERED THIS A HELPFUL STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. ARNAUD GENERALLY ACCEPTED THE CHARACTERIZATION IN REFTel A OF THE INFORMAL CONSENSUS AMONG THE NINE AT GYMnich, BUT TOOK MORE QUALIFIED VIEW OF "VOTING PROCEDURE" THAN DUFOURCQ IN REF C. RE PARA 2.B., REF A, ARNAUD SAID THAT IT WAS INACCURATE TO ASSUME THAT A "VOTE" ON FORMAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE US WOULD BE TAKEN IF ANY MEMBER REQUESTED IT. THE NINE
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DO NOT VOTE, HE STRESSED, BUT AGREE OR DISAGREE BY CONSENSUS. (COMMENT: FRENCH AVERSION TO FORMAL VOTING IN EC PROBABLY REFLECTS RELUCTANCE TO ESTABLISH PRECEDENT WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THEIR VETO POWER AND HIGHLIGHT THEIR ISOLATION ON SPECIFIC ISSUES.) HE STRONGLY AGREED WITH THE NOTION THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO DEVELOP THE HABIT OF CLOSE CONSULTATION ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN AND THAT

IT WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO THIS PROCESS TO CULTIVATE
THE UNDERLYING POLITICAL WILL.

5. IT WAS FOR THE FOREGOING REASONS, SAID ARNAUD,
THAT OF THE THREE OPTIONS ORIGINALLY SPELLED OUT
BY THE SECRETARY, THE QUAI PREFERRED TO DROP BOTH

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 11798

LIMDIS

THE EC AND THE NATO DECLARATIONS. TO PURSUE THE
COMPLETION OF THESE DECLARATIONS WOULD LEAD TO
ANOTHER CYCLE OF WORDSMITHING AND HAIRSPLITTING WHICH
IN ALL PROBABILITY WOULD LEAD THE NINE AND THE US
BACK TO A COLLISION COURSE. SIMILARLY, IF IT WERE
DECIDED TO DROP THE EC DECLARATION, THEN THERE WOULD

BE INEVITABLE CONFRONTATIONS OVER THE SUBSTANTIVE ADDITIONS NECESSARY UNDER THAT OPTION TO EXPAND THE PURVIEW OF THE NATO DECLARATION. THIS PROCESS WOULD RAISE AGAIN THE OLD PROBLEM OF "GLOBALIZATION" OF SECURITY, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES IN ONE DECLARATION, WHICH FRENCH AND OTHERS HAD LONG OPPOSED. FURTHER, THE ISSUANCE OF A "LOADED" ATLANTIC DECLARATION, IN THE ABSENCE OF AN EQUIVALENT EC
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DECLARATION, WOULD BE A LOPSIDED AFFIRMATION OF "ATLANTICISM" TO THE DETRIMENT OF "EUROPEAN IDENTITY." REGARDLESS OF WHO BECOMES THE NEXT FOREIGN MINISTER OF FRANCE, WEST GERMANY AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE SAME CIVIL SERVANTS WILL BE WRITING THE POSITION PAPERS AND DEFENDING THE SAME NATIONAL ISSUES. IF FORCED TO RESUME THE PREVIOUS DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS ON THE DECLARATIONS, IT WOULD NOT TAKE LONG BEFORE THE UNHEALTHY ATMOSPHERE OF CONFRONTATION WOULD REAPPEAR. THUS, THE FRENCH PREFER TO DROP BOTH DECLARATIONS, TO WORK INSTEAD FOR DEVELOPMENT OF A MORE FLEXIBLE PATTERN OF CONSULTATIONS AND TO CELEBRATE THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF NATO BY ISSUING A SHORT, RINGING COMMUNIQUE AT THE END OF THE OTTAWA MEETING.

6. QUESTIONED ON DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR FRENCH PREFERENCE AMONG THE NINE, ARNAUD ADMITTED THAT THERE WERE DIFFERENCES, WITH SOME EC MEMBERS PREFERRING ONE OR THE OTHER OPTIONS. HOWEVER, ARNAUD STRESSED THAT THE FRENCH HAD WIDE SUPPORT AMONG THE NINE FOR THEIR VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE TO ATTEMPT TO CONSTRUCT AN ELABORATE MECHANISM OF CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE NINE AND THE UNITED STATES WHICH WOULD IMPOSE A LEGALISTIC "REQUIREMENT" ON THE COMMUNITY. BY THE SAME TOKEN, THE NINE ATTACHED HIGH PRIORITY TO IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND TO WORKING OUT FLEXIBLE CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS THAT WOULD GIVE EACH SIDE A FAIR OPPORTUNITY TO INSURE THAT ITS VIEWS WERE FULLY CONSIDERED BY THE OTHER BEFORE IMPORTANT DECISIONS WERE TAKEN.

7. COMMENT: THE QUAI'S PREFERENCE FOR DROPPING BOTH DECLARATIONS IS A NOTEWORTHY DEPARTURE FROM EARLIER POSITION, WHEN IN EFFORT TO HAVE THEIR VIEWS PREVAIL, FRENCH FREQUENTLY WERE IN FOREFRONT OF DRAFTING EXERCISES ON BOTH DECLARATIONS. FRENCH ALSO BELIEVED FOR A TIME THAT US PRESSURE IN NEGOTIATING THE EC DECLARATION HAD HELPED COALESCE EC SUPPORT AROUND

THEIR NOTION OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY. FRENCH PREFERENCE
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FOR ABANDONING THE TWO DECLARATIONS NOW MAY SIMPLY
REPRESENT A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT
DISARRAY IN THE COMMUNITY, COMBINED WITH BELIEF THAT
WITH NEW GERMAN AND BRITISH LEADERSHIP TILTING
MORE TOWARDS THE US AND NATO, IT WOULD BE WISER FOR
FRANCE TO ADOPT A LOW PROFILE. IN ANY EVENT, GIVEN
THE PRESENT PERIOD OF FLUX AND UNCERTAINTY IN
EUROPE, AND THE ASSUMPTION OF THE EC PRESIDENCY ON
JULY 1 BY FRANCE, WE BELIEVE IT IS WORTHWHILE TO PROBE
THE POSSIBILITY OF ACHIEVING A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE
DIALOGUE WITH THE GOF. ACTION REQUESTED: QUAI
EUROPEAN DIRECTOR DE MARGERIE, WHO WORKS CLOSELY
WITH ARNAUD ON US-EUROPEAN QUESTIONS, HAS INVITED
POLCOUNS TO LUNCH MAY 22. IF CONSIDERED USEFUL BY
DEPARTMENT, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING ANY
ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE ON US-EC NINE CONSULTATIONS
THAT COULD BE USED IN DISCUSSION WITH DE MARGERIE.
IRWIN

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